

CULTURAL VALUE DISCREPANCY AND ADOLESCENTS' ADJUSTMENT
OUTCOMES IN CHINESE IMMIGRANT FAMILIES: THE ROLE OF PARENTAL
PSYCHOLOGICAL CONTROL

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Chinese immigrants are the second largest immigrant group (after Mexican immigrants) according to 2010 United States Census. Their successful adjustment bears important implications for policy making, the economy, public health, and directions for research at both the societal and individual levels. This study examined academic achievement and depressive symptoms among a group of Chinese American adolescents and their immigrant parents. Moreover, this study examined whether the parental practice of psychological control mediates the link between parent-adolescent cultural value differences and adolescent schooling and mental health outcomes (i.e., academic achievement and depressive symptoms). Demographic factors such as family's socioeconomic status and adolescents' and parents' gender were considered in analyses. Results indicate that multiple domains of parental psychological control serve as mediating mechanisms by which parent-child value differences influence adolescent depressive symptoms. Implications for clinical service and future research are discussed.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved grandmother, Ming Jih Chen. Thank you for trust in me and helping me see my strengths and believing in the impossible. Just like your name, you are the bright day light that shines and beams over us. With you, we can always find a way. With you, we are never lost.

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CHAPTER I

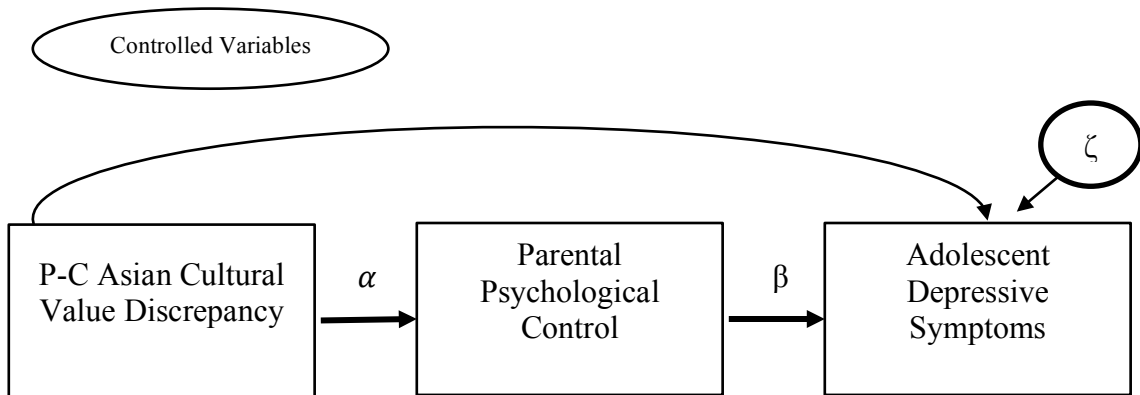
INTRODUCTION

Asians are the second largest immigrant group (after Mexican immigrants), and their numbers are projected to grow 213% between year 2000 and 2050 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Currently, of the total U.S. population, 20% were born outside of the U.S., with Asian Americans making up 62% of this statistic. Rise in foreign-born individuals living in the U.S. has been accompanied by a rise in children living in the U.S. raised by one or more immigrant parents. Currently 1 out of 5 children is either an immigrant or a child of an immigrant; however, by 2050, children with immigrant parents are expected to make up 57% of the U.S. population under 18, with a majority of them being Asian or Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000; Hernandez & Charney, 1998). As pointed out by Nguyen (2011), these changes have important implications for future policy making, the economy, public health, and directions of research. Being the fastest growing segment in the child population, immigrant children and youth will have a direct impact on the future of the U.S., and their successful adjustment needs to be considered a priority at the individual and societal levels. The purpose of this study as illustrated in Figure 1 is to examine adjustment in the areas of academic achievement and depressive symptoms among a group of Chinese American adolescents and their immigrant parents. See Figure 1 for an illustration of the hypothesized model.

More specifically, this study examined whether the parental practice of psychological control mediates the link between parent-adolescent cultural value

differences and adolescent schooling and mental health outcomes (i.e., academic achievement and depressive symptoms). Demographic factors such as the family's socioeconomic status and adolescents' and parents' gender were considered in analyses.

Figure 1: Hypothesized Model



Theoretical Rationale for the Study

Asian immigrant families face a myriad of challenges including encountering language and communication difficulty, extending social support, meeting demands of a new home/school environment and negotiating cultural differences (Kim & Ozio, 2006; Yeh et al., 2005). For many Asian American youths, negotiating between the traditional Asian culture and the mainstream culture often involves a daily processing and making sense of two cultural values and practices that seem to be at odds with each other. On the one hand, the individualistic value system that is emphasized in the U.S. teaches children to develop independence and autonomy. On the other hand, the traditional Asian value system places high emphasis on interdependence and collectivistic ideals. Children who

grew up in traditional Asian families are expected to respect authority, defer obedience to parents and suppress their own emotions for the maintenance of group harmony (Oyserman, Coon, & Markus, 2002; Triandis, 2001). However, in the U.S. they are socialized to value open expression and assert autonomy. Faced with two discrepant cultural ideals, Asian American children often struggle to negotiate and coexist with the mainstream cultural system and their heritage culture (Qin, Han, & Chang, 2011). When adolescents' cultural values and practices conflict with those of their parents, generational dissonance can result within the family that may exacerbate adolescents' risk for maladjustment and poor outcomes (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). This study examined the generational dissonance that may emerge between the parents and adolescent in a group of Chinese immigrant families. Chinese Americans, being the largest Asian heritage group in the U.S. (Barnes & Bennett, 2002), were selected as the primary target sample. Previous studies on Chinese immigrant families' generational dissonance and adolescents' outcomes have rarely examined mediating mechanisms that help explain the processes by which generational dissonance influence adolescent's adjustment outcomes (Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, & Moon, 2009).

This study focused on parental psychological control as a parenting practice and mediating factor that is associated with generational dissonance (i.e., parent-adolescent traditional values discrepancy) and adolescent outcomes. When parents and adolescents are at odds in their values, parents may attempt to maintain authority in the parent-child relationship via restrictive parenting (i.e., parental psychological control), which can in turn lead to negative outcomes for the adolescents, including depressive symptoms and

low academic performance (Kim et al, 2009; Aunola & Nurmi, 2004). Depressive symptoms could serve as one major indicator of an individual's psychosocial adjustment. This is particularly true for Chinese adolescents whom have been found to report higher level of depression compared to Euro-American adolescents and other minority adolescents (Bankston & Zhou, 2002; Zhou, Peverly, Xin, Huang, & Wang, 2003). Academic achievement is another major indicator for adolescents' adjustment in school. Many Chinese immigrant families deem academic success as a promising path to lucrative careers and higher social status (Fuligni, 1997), so parents often place high academic expectations for their children (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Suizzo & Stapleton, 2002). However, if parent's and adolescent's values are at odds and parental discipline is domineering, adolescents may resist or rebel by downplaying parents' academic expectations and the importance of academic achievement. Previous studies have found demographic factors such as, child gender and families socio-economic status influence the process of negotiating different cultural values and practices among members of immigrant families (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996; Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Thus, demographic variables were accounted for in the analyses of the present study.

The Process of Negotiating Between Different Cultures

Immigrant families inevitably undergo the process of acculturation because they live with heritage and mainstream cultural values and practices. According to Berry (2005), acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of making contact with two or more cultural groups and their members. On a macro- or group-level, acculturation involves changes in the social structures as

well as cultural practices among the cultures that come in contact. At the micro- or individual-level, it involves changes and adaptation in a person's behavioral and value systems. This mutual adoption or exchange can look like, for example, learning one another's language, adopting one another's dress code, and sharing one another's food choices.

The mechanisms through which change takes place as a result of acculturation can be broadly conceptualized as consisting of two components: *attitude or value change* and *behavioral change*. Value change refers to the choices and beliefs that an individual holds in determining how their acculturation process develops. Behavioral change, on the other hand, refers to the observable activities or actions that the individual carries out in his/her process of acculturation. Although behavioral change, or behavioral acculturation, is more readily observable, value change or value acculturation is said to occur more gradually, requiring a much longer time to adopt than behavioral change (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik, Scopetta, Kurtines, & Arandale, 1978).

Theory and research on acculturation highlight an important distinction between the constructs of acculturation and assimilation. Assimilation differs from acculturation, because assimilation means adapting solely to the values and practices of the host culture and relinquishing those from the heritage culture. This distinction has a particularly important implication in the conceptualization and measurement of acculturation. Often one would assume assimilation is the expected trajectory of acculturation; however, assimilation is only one of the strategies that individuals employ to facilitate their

acculturation experience. Therefore, when measuring acculturation through adherence of certain cultural values or behaviors, be it heritage or national, researchers should refrain from assuming that a strong adherence to national culture equals a high level of acculturation, and strong adherence to traditional cultural values equals a low level of acculturation. Such a conceptualization assumes that acculturation occurs in a linear fashion in that stronger orientation in one culture means weaker orientation in another. Research by Constigan and Dokis (2006) suggested that high heritage and high host culture orientations can coexist harmoniously without compromising adjustment and functioning. Given the complexity in measurement of acculturation, scales that tap into value and behavioral adherence of both heritage and host culture (bi-dimensional measures) may more accurately reflect the level of acculturation for a given individual. Since the purpose of this study does not concern the degree of acculturation among the participants, only adherence to traditional Asian culture and its value component was focused upon as a way to assess parent-child acculturation differences.

Parent-Child Acculturation Level and Adolescents' Psychosocial Adjustment

The rate or the level at which the process of acculturation takes place can vary drastically from individual to individual. It is a long term process that can take several years or even generations (Berry, 2005). The end product is the mutual accommodation that results in an internalized set of psychological and socio-cultural adaptations from the cultures involved. Sometimes these adaptations can take place rather quickly and easily. However, the acculturative process can also be slow and difficult and result in

acculturative stress. *Acculturative stress* is defined as a stress reaction in response to life events that are rooted in the experience of acculturation (Berry, 2005). Individuals who, after intercultural contact, find themselves having difficulty adjusting or assimilating to the culture of their own and the one of the host culture are experiencing acculturative stress. Differences in the rate of acculturation, be it the rate in adopting to the values or the practices of a particular culture, can vary on an individual level or vary across family members. Such differences result in increased acculturative stress, leading to different goals and expectations among family members who engage in heightened conflicts and diminished mental well-being.

Research on acculturation and mental health shows that different levels of acculturation between parent and child can impact the overall mental health and family functioning among immigrant families (Qin, Han, & Chang, 2011). Since children from immigrant families tend to adopt the values and behaviors of the new culture at a faster pace than their parents, large differences in acculturation levels may result between parent and child (Kwak, 2000). Scholars have used the term *acculturation gap* to describe the parent-child acculturation differences. Others have called it *acculturation dissonance* (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), or *acculturative family distancing* (Hwang, 2006), all of which refer to the discrepant nature between immigrant parents and their children in adopting and retaining differing (often opposing) cultural values, and/or practices. These differences in the rate of acculturation were found to pose challenges in parent-child relationship that may place children and adolescents at risk for poor adjustment (Buki et al. 2003; Costigan & Dokis 2006a; Tseng & Fuligni 2000).

Acculturation dissonance appears to have the most deleterious effect on parent-child relationships during the child's transition from adolescent to adulthood (Hwang, 2011). Several studies have been conducted in assessing the impact of acculturation differences has on family functioning and mental health of Asian American families, specifically adolescent depression.

Acculturation Gap with Family Functioning and Adolescent Depressed Mood

Large acculturation differences between parent and child were found to be linked to poor outcomes such as depression, and family conflicts. In the study by Costigan and Dokis (2006), a sample of immigrant Chinese families with early adolescents in Canada were surveyed in response to their acculturation level (measured in the domains of value and behavior) in Chinese and Canadian cultures. An interesting gender pattern emerged - results showed while mother-child interaction in Chinese behavior acculturation domain (e.g., similar preference for Chinese language use) was associated with lower family conflict and lower adolescents reported depressive symptoms, father-child interaction in Chinese value acculturation domain (e.g., similar outlook in Chinese cultural orientation) was associated with lower family conflict and lower adolescent reported depressive symptoms. Overall, the study supported that when parent-child exhibits large discrepancy in their Chinese culture orientation, the greater the likelihood for poor adjustment reported by the adolescents. Similarly Crane et al. (2005) investigated the relationships among parent-child acculturation differences, family functioning and adolescent psychosocial adjustment. The study consisted of Chinese immigrant families from the U.S. and Canada. Results of the study showed that large

differences in acculturation between parents and teens were associated with adolescent reported depression. Moreover, poor family functioning (e.g., communication, emotional expression, support among family member, etc) was also associated with adolescent reported depressive symptoms. Examining the longitudinal effect of intergenerational conflict on adolescents' psychosocial well-being using the data from the Children of Immigrant Longitudinal Study (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Raumbaut, 1994), Ying and Han (2007) surveyed a group of Southeast Asian American adolescents in areas of intergenerational acculturation gap, family conflict and mental health. Data was collected three years after the initial assessment, results supported the mediating effect of family conflict on the link between long term effect of perceived intergenerational acculturation discrepancy and adolescents' depressive symptoms.

Acculturation Gap with Parenting Practices and Adolescent Depressed Mood

Asian American parents' acculturation strategy has a direct effect on how they implement and structure family norms, family expectations, and parenting practices. This in turn affects their children's identity formation and subsequent psychosocial well-being (Qin, Han, & Chang, 2011). According to Kim et al., (2009), when parents and children are disparate in their cultural orientations, the likelihood of mutual understanding decreases, thus reducing the frequency of warm verbal and emotional exchanges shared between the parent-child dyads. Negative parent-child interactions may in turn decrease the affection parents express toward their children, thus altering their parenting practices by employing discipline strategies that may be aloof, harsh or punitive in nature. Research studies indicate that Asian American mothers who adopt an

integrated acculturation are more knowledgeable in their heritage and the U.S. culture, which allows them to form their parenting style by merging the best of both cultures and serve as an adequate role model for their children to emulate when they deal with their own culture negotiating experience. On the contrary, Asian American parents who identified as marginalized in both of their root and the U.S. culture, are likely to struggle in their acculturation process and resulting in identity confusion in their children (Kim, Gonzales, Stroh, & Wang, 2006).

In determining the relationship between parent-child acculturation differences and parenting practices, Buki, Ma, Strom, and Strom (2003) examined a sample of 95 Chinese immigrant mothers and found that a large acculturation gap reported by the mothers was associated with low parenting efficacy. In other words, mothers who perceived greater acculturation dissonance between themselves and their children also reported more parenting difficulties. In another study with Chinese immigrant families in the U.S., Kim et al. (2009) found that large differences in father-adolescent acculturation levels is significantly associated with higher level of adolescent reported depressive symptoms. In particular, father-adolescent acculturation dissonance is linked to harsh parenting practices (e.g., strict monitoring and rigid family rule makings), which in turn results in higher level of adolescent depression. Similarly, findings from a study conducted by Lim et al. (2009) supported a positive relationship between parent-adolescent acculturation level mismatch and youth depressive symptoms in their sample of 81 Chinese immigrant families.

Acculturation Gap and Academic Achievement

In addition to adolescent psychosocial adjustment, adolescent academic outcomes may also be linked to parent-child acculturation differences (Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Through examining the acculturation domain in both Canadian and Chinese cultures, these researchers found that similar Chinese acculturation level in the behavioral domain (e.g. similar preference in Chinese language use) between the mother and adolescent pairs is associated with higher adolescent reported academic motivation. In particular, in mother and adolescent pairs with more similar Chinese behavioral acculturation, adolescents reported higher academic motivation such as wanting to be the best student in class. Similarly, Liu, Benner, Lau, and Kim (2009) found mother-adolescent match in Chinese language use was associated with adolescents' higher math achievement and overall GPA.

Parenting Practices and Adolescents Academic Achievement

A large body of research supports the view that parenting practices are related to adolescent achievement outcomes. Based on parenting behaviors of primarily European American samples, Baumrind (1971) identified three general parenting styles that were associated with different child outcomes. In particular, parents who exhibit high control and high acceptance with their children have been classified as authoritative. In contrast, authoritarian parents are those who exhibit high control and low acceptance with their children. They are punitive and express low levels of affection to their children. Though both authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles employ a high level of control, an important qualitative distinction exists. Often, the type of control endorsed by

authoritarian parents is coercive and domineering in nature, while authoritative parents assert his or her power through reason induction and support (Baumrind, 2012).

Alternatively, parents with permissive parenting style express affection to their children but show low levels of control. Both authoritarian and permissive parenting have been found to be related to maladjustment among children and adolescents in the United States, while children of authoritative parents tend to have positive developmental outcomes (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1992).

In regards to achievement outcomes, research generally indicates that authoritative parenting is associated with positive academic outcomes, while authoritarian and permissive parenting styles were negatively associated with achievement. However, findings may not generalize to families from diverse ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, Dornbusch et al. (1987) found that adolescents' perceptions of authoritative parenting were associated with classroom grades for White families but not for Asian, Black, or Hispanic families. Similarly, Steinberg et al. (1992) found that adolescents' perceptions of authoritative parenting were positively related to their classroom grades and their engagement in school for Caucasian students but not for African American and Hispanic students. Rated as high in control and demandingness, traditional Asian parents' child-rearing practices were often portrayed as more authoritarian than authoritative; however, Asian American children were found to demonstrate high academic achievement. For instance, they were often overrepresented as top performers in their high school grade point averages (GPAs) and standardized tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), the Graduate

Management Admissions Test (GMAT), and the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) (Kao & Thompson, 2003; Thatchenkery & Cheng, 1997). In addition, they were found to have attained higher rates of high school completion and college enrollment compared to other ethnic groups (O'Hare & Felt, 1991).

Given inconsistencies in relations between parenting styles and achievement that often differed across ethnicity, some researchers called for a closer examination of parenting styles in studying achievement for minority youth. An alternative explanation proposed by Chao (1994) argued that Baumrind's parenting styles are not capturing the aspects of Asian parenting that explain school success. According to Chao (1994), employing Baumrind's typology to Asian parents is akin to applying a western concept to eastern practices that emphasizes collectivistic value and Confucianism; however, doing so would ignore the distinct cultural factor of Asian parental practices. In her interview of 50 Caucasian mothers and 50 immigrants Chinese mothers, Chao (1994) attempted to capture Chinese child rearing ideologies. Her results revealed aspects of Chinese parenting that serve to resolve the paradox found in the studies by Dornbusch (1987) and Steinberg (1992). According to Chao, Chinese parents may be endorsing more than one typology because they capture different aspects of parenting style that cannot be captured by a single classification. A similar claim is supported by McBride-Chang and Chang (1998) in their sample of Hong Kong Chinese adolescents and their parents. The parents in the sample were largely unclassifiable in Baumrind's categorical system (1971). Thus, cautions need to be taken in the conceptualization and

operationalization of parenting styles when drawing inferences about parents from Chinese backgrounds.

Acculturation and Chinese Parenting

Many studies with the Chinese have depicted their global parenting style as being restrictive or controlling. Lin and Fu (1990) found that Chinese in Taiwan and immigrant Chinese employed higher parental control, had higher emphasis in achievement, and less encouragement of independence than the Caucasian-American parents. Moreover, the effect of acculturation also seems to impact level of restrictiveness imposed on their children. Chiu's (1987) study found that mothers from Taiwan were the most restrictive, with the Chinese American mother in the middle and the Caucasian American mothers being the least restrictive. Influence of westernization and the changing society has played a role in shaping contemporary Chinese parents to adapt gradually decreasing level of controlling tactics in hope to raise more socially and emotionally well-adjusted children who are better suited in this globalized world with a new shifted focus on initiative seeking and emotional intelligence (Chen, 2012; Way et al., 2013).

Researchers argued for the distinction that parental control for the Chinese is primarily motivated around their intense concern for their children to be successful, particularly in school. As Chiu (1987) explained, the control and restrictiveness exerted by the Chinese parents is more intended to protect than inhibit. Similarly, a study conducted by Chan, Bowes and Wyver, (2009) supports the view that Chinese parents' use of parental control stems from an integration of parental goals and beliefs.

Specifically, when family obligation and concerns for training the child are emphasized as strong parental goal and belief, the use of controlling tactics was more prevalently reported. Xu et al. (2005) also found that high adherence to traditional Asian values was found to strongly relate to a merge of parenting profiles between authoritarian and authoritative styles in that high level of domineering control and warmth were both endorsed by Chinese parents.

This high control and high warmth parenting practice is referred to as “Tiger parenting”, a name derived from the recent popular book by Chua (2011). In her self-memoir, Chua (2011) portrayed Chinese parenting as striving for academic and extracurricular excellence and conformity from their offspring. Though highly invested in her children, Chua’s exercise of control was not limited to the daily monitoring of piano practice; she also uses mental tactics such as threatening to withdraw love and approval to reinforce compliance. Based on the recent work done by Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, and Murtuza (2013), the researchers provided empirical evidence and further operationalization about Tiger parenting along with other Chinese parenting profiles. The push for the understanding of Chinese parenting through examining dimensions (e.g., the dimensions within parental control) was recommended.

Parental Psychological Control

The parenting literature generally separates parental control into two major dimensions; it can be functional and positive, but it can also be dysfunctional. Positive control, also labeled organizational control, is associated with better psychosocial outcomes and high cohesion within the families, whereas dominant, interfering control

creates less cohesion and produces more conflict. When parental control is perceived as domineering or inhibitory, it is akin to what Becker (1964) and Schaefer (1965a, 1965b) termed as *parental psychological control*. Parental psychological control is a parental discipline strategy that “appeals to pride and guilt, expresses disappointment, withdraws love, isolates the child, and involves shaming (Barber, 1996, p. 3297)”. It is a negative discipline that exploits the parent-child relationship and intrudes into child’s sense of self in order to manipulate him into complying with parents’ requests. When control is perceived as psychological, it can have a negative impact on children’s academic performance and psychosocial adjustment. Previous research examining the parenting practices of Chinese parents suggested evidence for the prevalent use of certain aspects of psychological control (e.g., shaming and love withdrawal) as discipline tactics (Fung, 1999; Ho, 1986). Because guilt and shaming techniques and restrictiveness are considered more acceptable parenting practices among Chinese parents compared to Euro-American parents, parental psychological control will be the parenting dimension to be focused upon for this study.

Parental Psychological Control and Achievement Outcomes

Parental control consists of two distinct dimensions (i.e., positive or organizational control and psychological control), with each dimension predicting achievement in different ways. When control is organizational, it is akin to the notion of training proposed by Chao (1994) in that it involves high care and concern for the child, factors that are important in explaining school success. However, when control is perceived as negative or psychological in nature, it has lower association with positive

academic performance. In a study by Aunola and Nurmi (2004), following a sample of children of European origins in preschool to second grade, researchers found that maternal psychological control predicted children's slow progress in mathematics. Moreover, it was found that maternal affection did not protect against the negative effect of psychological control, demonstrating the lasting impact of psychological control on children's academic performance.

Parental Psychological Control and Psychosocial Adjustment Outcomes

When parental control was defined as domineering (i.e., psychological control), cross cultural evidence has been consistently established in the link between this particular type of parenting practice and negative adjustment outcomes for children and adolescents. In a study by Herz and Gullone (1999) found that parents' overprotection was negatively associated with adolescents' self-esteem both in the Vietnamese American group and their Australian peers. Stewart et al., (1998) also found that adolescent girls in Hong Kong who reported restrictive maternal control are positively associated with low self-esteem, relational discords, and low level of perceived health. In more recent studies, Olsen et al. (2002) found that parental psychological control reported by a sample of parents from China was associated with children's internalizing problems. Using a Chinese-American sample, Kao (2012) found a positive relationship between parental psychological control and adolescent somatic symptoms.

CHAPTER II

PURPOSE AND HYPOTHESES

This study aimed to investigate the relations among parent-child cultural value differences, parental psychological control, and adolescent depressive symptoms and academic achievement (e.g., GPAs and grade satisfaction). In particular, parental psychological control was hypothesized as a mediator in the relationships between parent-child value differences and adolescent-reported depressive symptoms or academic achievement (as indexed by GPAs and grade satisfaction). This study accounted for demographic variables such as, adolescents and parents' gender, and family's SES in analyses. Children's gender has been identified as one of an important social position that shapes an individual acculturation-adjustment experience. Males and females are often socialized with different role expectations, so gender differences in acculturation may be associated with differential adjustment outcomes (Suarez-Orozco & Qin, 2006). Family's SES such as parents' education level and income have also been observed in family's acculturation experience and generational dissonance (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), and were accounted for in analyses.

This study builds upon previous literature and addresses gaps in the literature by incorporating both parent and adolescent responses on cultural orientation rather than considering only child or only parental cultural orientation. In addition, few researchers have tested parental practices as the mediating mechanism in the acculturation-adjustment link. A study that investigated parenting practices and their relations to

acculturation-adjustment outcomes (Kim et al., 2009) did not focus on parental psychological control nor did it address adolescent achievement outcomes.

Four primary research questions were addressed in this study (a) Does parent-adolescent cultural consonance/dissonance relate to parent and adolescent reported parental psychological control? (b) Does parental psychological control rated by parent-adolescent dyads relate to adolescent psychological and academic outcomes? (c) Does parental psychological control mediate the link between cultural consonance/dissonance and adolescent psychosocial outcomes (e.g., depression)? (d) Does parental psychological control mediate the link between cultural consonance/dissonance and adolescent academic achievement (e.g., GPA's and grade satisfaction)? Controlling for the above mentioned demographic variables, the following hypotheses are proposed:

1. Parent-adolescent cultural value discrepancy will be associated with high level of adolescent-reported and parent-reported parental psychological control
2. High parental psychological control from both respondents will predict adolescent symptoms of depression.
3. High parent-adolescent reported psychological control will negatively predict adolescent achievement outcomes.
4. Parental psychological control reported from both informants will mediate the relations between parent-child cultural value differences and adolescent depressive symptoms and achievement outcomes.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Participants

Participants were drawn from a sample from a larger project that investigated the academic and psychosocial adjustment of Chinese immigrant families and their adolescent children residing in the greater Houston area. The subsample included 203 individuals of Chinese descent (i.e., 70 mothers, 29 fathers and 104 children) from 106 immigrant families. Participants were recruited from Chinese language schools, cultural community centers and churches or from referrals of families who have completed the study. There were three inclusionary criteria for this study. Participating families must: 1) self-identify as of Chinese descent, 2) be able to speak and read English, and 3) have adolescent children between the ages of 14 and 18 years old. The recruited adolescent participants' age for this subsample ranged from 14-18 ($M=15.91$, $SD= 1.39$). Almost all parents were born and raised outside of U.S., with a small sample (2%) born in the U.S. but grew up outside of the U.S. China and Taiwan were the primary countries of origin for parents (98 %), while most adolescents were born and raised in the U.S. (79%), and 16% were born either in China or Taiwan. The remaining 5% was missing data. Parents reported an average stay of 21 years in the U.S. Participating parents for this study must be born and/or raised outside of the U.S. and self-identified as of Chinese descent to be considered immigrant parents, and data analyses will be conducted for those meeting this criterion. Skewness and kurtosis for the sample was calculated and

yielded statistics that ranged from -1.08 to 1.08 for skewness, and from -0.58 to 1.02 for kurtosis. Thus, variables were not significantly skewed in any direction.

Procedures

Ninety-four parent-adolescent dyads recruited and consented to participate in the study were asked to provide their contact information, including their name, name of their adolescent (s), phone number, email address (if available), and mailing address to the research assistants. Research assistants then assigned each participating family an identifying number to ensure confidentiality. Because all participating families provided an email address, the researchers emailed the parent and adolescent the URL to access and complete their online research surveys. The parent-adolescent pairs were asked to complete the consent forms, provide demographic information, adherence to Asian cultural values, perspectives on parental psychological control, adolescents GPAs and grade satisfaction via corresponding parent and adolescent online surveys. Upon completion of both sets of parent and adolescent surveys, the families received \$30 gift cards as a token of appreciation for their participation.

Measures

Demographics

Both parents and adolescents provided information on their age, gender, place of birth, years in the U.S., educational level, and annual household income.

Asian Values

Parent and adolescent's adherence to traditional Asian values was assessed using the Asian Value Scales (AVS) developed by Kim, Atkinson and Yang (1999). It is a 36-

item scale with items reflecting various dimensions of Asian cultural values using a 7-point Likert scale. AVS taps into 6 different traditional Asian cultural dimensions including conformity to norms, family recognition through achievement, emotional self-control, collectivism, humility, and filial piety. Sample questions for this scale include “one should not deviate from familial and social norms”, “occupational failure does not bring shame to the family”, and “the ability to control one’s emotions is a sign of strength”. Kim, Atkinson, and Yang (1999) reported scale reliability coefficient of .82 and a test-retest reliability coefficient of .83 after two weeks. However, the six factors within the scale had much lower coefficient estimates (alphas ranged from .38 to .69). Thus it is recommended that the total AVS score rather than individual factors be examined (Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999). Further, Kim, Atkinson, and Yang (1999) conducted confirmatory factor analysis and results showed that AVS had attained good divergent and convergent validity when compared to other Asian behavioral and Asian value acculturation scales. The total composite score is computed by reverse-scoring the appropriate items and then averaging across the 36 items for parent-report as well as for adolescent-report. Internal consistency for this sample was good with α s = .82 and .73 for adolescents and parents, respectively.

Parental Psychological Control

For parental practices, parents and adolescents reported level of parental psychological control by using the adapted version of Barber’s (1996) Parental Control Scale (PCS). Parents reported their own and spouse’s perception of parental psychological control, whereas adolescents reported their perceptions of their mother’s

and their father's exerted level of psychological control over them. This adapted version of PCS is an 11 item likert-scale type questionnaire accessing for parental attitudes that reflect pride, guilt and expression of disappointment (Olsen et al., 2002). Sample questions include "my father/mother brings up my past mistakes when she/he criticizes me", and "if I have hurt my father/mother's feelings, she/he stops talking to me until I please her/him again". The questionnaire is broken down into four subsets that further tap into dimensions of parental psychological control such as personal attack, erratic emotional behaviors, guilt induction and love withdrawal. Please see Table 1 below for definition for each of these subscales. Composites for each of the parental psychological subscales are calculated by reverse-scoring appropriate items and then averaging across items that correspond to each of the four subscales. This is done for parent-report and adolescent report for both mother and father. Olsen et al., (2002) demonstrated that these four subscales were shown to be comparable across different countries and regions including the U.S., Russia and China ($\chi^2(27) = 46.72, p < .001, \chi^2/df = 1.73, GFI = .97, TLI = .94, \text{ and } CFI = .95$). Alphas for study sample ranged from .78 to .86 for the parent sample. Similarly, composites using adolescents' reports for the mother and the father on each of the 4 subscales for parental psychological control were computed (α s for study sample ranged from .60 to .75 for mother, and .72 to .82 for father).

Table 1: Parental Psychological Control Subsets Identified

Subsets	Definitions
<i>Personal Attack</i>	Attacking the worth of another family member by bringing up past mistakes or invalidate the contribution of that particular family member
<i>Erratic Emotional Behavior</i>	Showing of inconsistent emotional behaviors to another family member by vacillating between caring and hostile expressions
<i>Guilt Induction</i>	Laying guilt trips on another family member
<i>Love Withdrawal</i>	Withdrawing or threatening to withdraw love and attention to another family member if he or she does not comply with or fulfill the expectations

Depressive Symptoms

Adolescent-reported depressive symptoms were assessed using the items from the depressive symptoms subscale on the Early Adolescent Temperament Questionnaire-Revised (Short-form), measuring traits of temperament. The subset of 6 items that assessed depression was rated on a 5 point likert-scale with response choices that range from “almost always untrue”, “usually untrue”, “sometimes true, sometimes untrue”, “usually true”, and “almost always true”. Adolescents were asked to rate if they have experienced the following symptoms: “I get sad more often than other people realize”, “It often takes very little to make me feel like crying”. The composite score for depression is calculated by summing the responses from the subscale and reverse scoring the relevant items. Good internal consistency of the scale was established with a large

sample of children and adolescents ($\alpha=0.69$), with evidence for convergent validity in comparison with other personality scale and temperamental scales such as the BIS and Kagan's behavioral inhibition when looking at the scale as a whole. For this sample alphas equal 0.64 on the Depression scale.

Parent-reported adolescent depressive symptoms were measured by the Behavioral Assessment System for Children-Second Edition (BASC-2) parent rating scale (Reynolds & Kamphaus, 2004,). The BASC-2 is multi-rater rating scale used to measure both adaptive and problem behaviors of individuals from preschool to college. Parent answered on a 4-point likert scale with response choices that ranged from “never”, “sometimes”, “often”, and “almost always”. Items that load on the depression scale include “cries easily”, “is sad” or “says I want to die or I wish I was dead”. High internal consistent and test reliability was evident in the BASC-2 scales and composites. Most alpha coefficients exceeded 0.80 (Weiner & Craighead, 2010). For this sample, alphas equal 0.91 for T-scores on the internalizing measures.

Academic Achievement

Academic achievement was assessed using external (school grades) and internal (feelings) criteria (i.e., GPAs and grade satisfaction). Adolescents reported on their grades in the subjects of math and English as indicated on their most recent report cards. The grade average for these two subjects served as external criteria (i.e., assigned school grades) for academic achievement. In addition, adolescents' perceived satisfaction of their most recent academic performance served as internal criteria (i.e., personal satisfaction) for academic achievement. Adolescents rated their level of satisfaction on a

5 point likert scale ranging from “not at all satisfied”, “a little satisfied”, “moderately satisfied”, “satisfied” and “very satisfied”.

Data Analysis

Parent-Child cultural value differences were calculated by subtracting the total score of parent reported Asian values by that of adolescent-reported Asian values. The total AVS scores will be standardized for both informants before taking the differences. To test the first hypothesis that (H1) parent-adolescent cultural value discrepancy will be associated with high level of adolescent-reported and parent-reported parental psychological control, pathway analysis using Mplus version 6.11 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2010) with full information maximum likelihood (FIML) estimation will be used to allow estimating the model with the full sample. The second and third hypothesis again employing Mplus version 6.11 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2010) was used to test whether or not (H2) parental psychological control as reported from both informants will predict adolescent depressive symptoms (H3) as well as achievement outcomes. To test the fourth hypothesis (H4) that parental psychological control reported by both informants will mediate the relation between parent-child cultural value differences and adolescent outcomes (e.g., depressive symptoms and achievement outcomes), the bootstrap method (Bollen & Stine, 1990) using the procedure illustrated in Cheung (2007) was used. The mediation effect was evaluated by creating the corresponding phantom variable, and then constructing 95% confidence interval of the mediation effect. A phantom variable is a latent variable with zero variance. When the variance of a variable equals zero, it implies that such variable has no contribution to the model fit, the

implied covariance matrix, and the parameter estimates (Raykov & Shrout, 2002).

Therefore, phantom variables are created solely to estimate the mediating effects. When employing the bootstrap strategy using phantom variables, a mediating relationship could be established or confirmed, if the confidence interval did not include zero (e.g., null hypothesis of no mediation was rejected). MacKinnon and his colleagues (MacKinnon, Lockwood, & Williams, 2004; MacKinnon, Lockwood, Hoffman, West, & Sheets, 2002) found that bootstrap method lends advantage over Sobel's method in that it addresses Type I error and power issues commonly occurring in small sample sizes such as the current study. For these analyses, variables such as demographic variables were included as covariates.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Correlations

Results from correlation analyses showed that depressive symptoms reported by both respondents were significantly correlated ($r=.33$, $p<.01$). To facilitate analyses and interpretation, the scores for depressive symptoms were standardized and subsequently averaged to yield a new depressive symptom composite. Ensuing correlational analyses showed that both parent and adolescent gender were significantly correlated with adolescent depressive symptoms ($r_s=.23$ and $.23$, $p<.05$ respectively). Results from independent sample T-test revealed that female adolescents and female parents reported significantly higher level of adolescent depressive symptoms compared to their male counterparts ($t(90)=2.25$, $p=0.03$ and $t(90)=2.24$, $p=0.03$ respectively for adolescents and parents). These findings suggested that female adolescents are experiencing higher level of depressive symptoms compared to male adolescents. Moreover, mothers from this sample also rated higher on adolescent depression than fathers. Interestingly, adolescent gender effect was also found with parental report of Asian cultural value adherence. Data suggested that parents were more likely to adhere to traditional Asian values if their child (i.e., the adolescent) was female ($t(92)=2.55$, $p=0.01$). Two domains of adolescent perceived parental psychological control were positively correlated with adolescent gender (Maternal Guilt Induction: $r=.23$, $p<.05$; Paternal Guilt

Induction: $\alpha = .22$, $p < .05$). Significant mean differences were found in that male adolescents reported higher level of guilt induction imposed by both parents than did the female participants (Maternal Guilt Induction ($t(90) = -2.23$, $p = 0.03$; Paternal Guilt Induction ($t(90) = -2.10$, $p = 0.04$). No parent gender effect was found for the parenting variable, suggesting no significant difference in the level of psychological control employed by either mothers or fathers in this current sample. Parent's household income was negatively correlated with several aspects of parental psychological control, suggesting parents from lower income households are more likely to use controlling parenting tactics. These specific aspects of parent reported parental psychological control included maternal guilt Induction and love withdrawal ($r = -.22$, $p < .05$; $r = -.26$, $p < .05$ respectively), paternal guilt induction and love withdrawal ($r = -.24$, $p < .05$; $r = -.30$, $p < .05$ respectively). Among adolescents' report, specific domains of psychological control correlated with household income included maternal and paternal love withdrawal ($\alpha = -.23$, $p < .05$; $\alpha = -.26$, $p < .05$ respectively). Because demographic factors are associated with major variables in this study, they were included as covariates in subsequent analyses.

Correlation Analysis Among Major Variables

Partial correlations controlling for above mentioned covariates indicated that almost all aspects of parent reported parental psychological control were significantly associated and in the direction expected with averaged adolescent depressive symptoms (with the exception of paternal personal attack, which is marginally significant, $r = .38$, $p =$

.07). Table 2 summarized the correlations among parent reported parental psychological and other major variables.

Table 2 Correlation Among Parent Reported Psychological Control and Study Variables

Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Mother												
1 Personal Attack	--											
2 Erratic Emotions	.51***	--										
3 Guilt Induction	.49***	.52***	--									
4 Love Withdrawal	.32**	.26*	.44***	--								
Father												
5 Personal Attack	.63***	.32**	.32**	.33**	--							
6 Erratic Emotions	.40***	.68***	.54***	.38***	.50***	--						
7 Guilt Induction	.43***	.42***	.85***	.38***	.43***	.56***	--					
8 Love Withdrawal	.26*	.25*	.39***	.66***	.41***	.54***	.44***	--				
9 Asian Value Differences	-.08	.07	.20	.33**	-.12	.11	.20	.24*	--			
10 Depressive Symptoms	.25*	.31**	.32**	.28**	.19	.31**	.33**	.16	.05	--		
11 Average GPAs	-.17	-.05	-.13	-.05	-.08	.05	-.11	.07	-.003	-.02	--	
12 Grade Satisfaction	.03	.11	-.09	.17	.08	.02	-.09	.02	.23*	-.06	.35**	--
Mean	2.01	1.95	1.92	1.67	2.00	1.95	1.88	1.65	.003	-.002	9.57	2.90
SD	.76	.67	.71	.72	.76	.68	.68	.71	1.31	.82	1.08	1.29

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Parent reported maternal and paternal love withdrawal were found to positively and significantly correlated with parent-adolescent values differences. Significant correlations were found among all four domains of parental psychological control among parent report. These coefficients ranged from 0.25 to 0.85, suggesting high internal

consistency among parent respondents on this particular scale. Similar finding was also evident within adolescent report. Resulting correlation coefficients ranged from 0.29 to 0.73 (see table 3), and were all statistically significant and in the direction expected. One domain of adolescent reported parental psychological control was found to be significantly correlated with averaged adolescent depressive symptoms (Maternal Erratic Emotions, $r=.38$, $p<.001$).

Table 3: Correlations Among Adolescent Reported Psychological Control and Study Variables

	Scale	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Mother												
1	Personal Attack	--											
2	Erratic Emotions	.48***	--										
3	Guilt Induction	.44***	.43***	--									
4	Love Withdrawal	.35**	.46***	.51***	--								
	Father												
5	Personal Attack	.58***	.30**	.32**	.29**	--							
6	Erratic Emotions	.36***	.63***	.31**	.37***	.73***	--						
7	Guilt Induction	.31**	.30**	.72***	.40***	.70***	.66***	--					
8	Love Withdrawal	.37***	.42***	.36**	.56***	.64***	.70***	.65***	--				
9	Asian Value Differences	.17	.17	.01	.09	.02	.08	-.05	.04	--			
10	Depressive Symptoms	.15	.38***	.08	.17	.06	.19	-.003	.01	.05	--		
11	Average GPAs	.09	.11	.08	-.15	-.03	.04	.04	-.01	-.003	-.02	--	
12	Grade Satisfaction	.07	.18	.03	.04	-.02	.03	-.03	.07	.23*	-.06	.35**	--
	Mean	2.70	2.25	2.75	2.27	2.66	2.42	2.76	2.18	.003	-.002	9.57	2.90
	SD	1.02	.86	.94	1.07	1.17	1.21	1.19	1.29	1.31	.82	1.08	1.29

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Between group analyses revealed statistically significant findings on several domains of parental psychological control, though not all (see table 4). Average GPA's in math and English was found to significantly correlated with adolescent grade satisfaction, while grade satisfaction was found to be significantly correlated with parent-adolescent value differences (as indicated in table 2 and 3).

Table 4: Correlations Between Adolescent Reported and Parent Reported Psychological Control

Scale		Parent Report							
		Mother				Father			
		Personal Attack	Erratic Emotions	Guilt Induction	Love Withdrawal	Personal Attack	Erratic Emotions	Guilt Induction	Love Withdrawal
Adolescent Report	Mother								
	Personal Attack	.39***	.12	.20	.30**	.32**	.13	.10	.23*
	Erratic Emotions	.29**	.22*	.15	.20	.23*	.22*	.17	.12
	Guilt Induction	.14	.03	.17	.18	.20	.10	.10	.05
	Love Withdrawal	.25*	.09	.29**	.44***	.17	.05	.24*	.20
	Father								
	Personal Attack	.33**	.01	.06	.08	.51***	.14	.13	.22*
	Erratic Emotions	.23*	.12	.05	.07	.30**	.22*	.12	.13
	Guilt Induction	.16	.05	.09	.06	.30**	.13	.12	.11
	Love Withdrawal	.23*	.10	.16	.11	.33**	.17	.18	.16

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Model Analyses

Structural equation using MPlus was conducted to test whether parent-adolescent cultural values dissonance relates to parent and adolescent reported parental psychological control (i.e., Hypothesis 1). Results showed that value discrepancy between parents and adolescents predicted the use of parental psychological control as reported by both respondents. Covariates included parent and adolescent gender and household income. Results demonstrated that parent-child value discrepancy predicted dimensions of parent reported maternal psychological control. Specifically, value discrepancy predicted dimension of guilt induction and love withdrawal (β s= 0.11 and 0.19, $p < .05$, respectively). Similarly, parent-adolescent value discrepancy also predicted parent reported paternal psychological control in dimensions of guilt induction and love withdrawal (β s= 0.11 and 0.14, $p < .05$, respectively). For adolescents' reports of parental psychological control, value dissonance marginally predicted dimensions of mothers' psychological control. Specifically, prediction of mother's personal attack and emotional erratic behaviors by value differences was approaching significance (β s= 0.14 and 0.12, $ps = 0.09$). No significance was found between adolescent reported paternal psychological control in all four domains and value discrepancy.

To test hypothesis 2: high parental psychological control will predict adolescent symptoms of depression, using the same covariates, structural model indicated that several dimensions of parental psychological control significantly predicted symptoms of depression as reflected from the average depression scores rated by parents and adolescents. In particular, parent reported mother's use of personal attack, erratic

emotional behaviors, guilt induction, and love withdrawal (β s= 0.26, 0.36, 0.37 and 0.32 respectively, $p < 0.05$). For parent reported father's use of psychological control, dimension that were found to significantly predict depression are use of erratic emotional behavior and guilt induction (β s= 0.36 and 0.39 respectively, $p < 0.05$). In examining adolescent reported parental psychological control, both mother and father's use of erratic emotional behaviors was found to predict (though marginally for father) adolescent's symptoms of depression (β s= 0.35 and 0.12, $p < 0.01$ and $p \leq 0.07$ respectively). Marginal significance was also found for adolescent reported maternal love withdrawal with depressive symptoms (β = 0.13, $p \leq 0.07$).

To test hypothesis 3: high parental psychological control will negatively predict adolescent achievement outcomes, results from structural model, again controlling for the same covariate variables, indicated that no domains of parental psychological control was found to significantly predict adolescents' average GPAs or grade satisfaction. This result holds true across both respondents.

Mediation Analysis

The mediated effect among the significant pathways was examined by using the bootstrap method using the 95% confidence interval. The mediated effect was significant for mediators including parent reported mother's use of guilt induction, love withdrawal, and father's use of guilt induction (confidence intervals 0.007-.09, 0.02-0.13, 0.007-0.10 respectively), with averaged adolescent depressive symptoms as the outcome. No mediated effect was found with either achievement outcomes using the bootstrap method. In support of several of my hypotheses, results showed that parental psychological

control, particularly mother and father's use of guilt induction tactic, and mother's use of love withdrawal were significant mediators in the relation between parent-adolescent value discrepancy and adolescent depressive symptoms. The resulting significant pathways and mediators are shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Significant Pathways and Mediators

		Estimates (SE)	
<hr/>			
<u>PA Maternal Guilt Induction</u>			
<i>Direct Effect</i>	α	.11 (.05)	*
	β	.37 (.11)	**
<i>Indirect Effect ($\alpha\beta$)</i>		0.04 (.02)	95% CI = [.01, .09]
<hr/>			
<u>PA Maternal Love Withdrawal</u>			
<i>Direct Effect</i>	α	.19 (.06)	**
	β	.32 (.10)	**
<i>Indirect Effect ($\alpha\beta$)</i>		0.06 (.03)	95% CI = [.02, .13]
<hr/>			
<u>PA Paternal Guilt Induction</u>			
<i>Direct Effect</i>	α	.11 (.05)	*
	β	.39 (.11)	***
<i>Indirect Effect ($\alpha\beta$)</i>		.41 (.02)	95% CI = [.01, .10]
<hr/>			
<i>Model fit</i>			
	Chi-Square (df)	.45 (3)	p= .93
	CFI	1.00	
	RMSEA	.00	
	SRMR	.01	

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. 95% CI = 95% confidence interval.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

To the author's knowledge, this is the first systematic study to examine parental psychological control as a mediating variable linking acculturation gap and adolescent adjustment. In addition, rather than solely relying on the perceptions of a single informant, this present study used both parents' and adolescents' input on all variables of interests. Of the parental control literature to date, majority of emphasis focused primarily on structural control, while little attention paid to this equally important construct, parental psychological control (Barber, 2002). This study contributes to the existing literature by providing a better understanding of how parental psychological control and acculturation processes might jointly operate on adolescent adjustment.

Value Discrepancy, Parental Psychological Control and Depressive Symptoms

Results from analyses demonstrated that several aspects of parent-reported parental psychological control mediated the relationship between parent-adolescent value discrepancy and adolescent depressive symptoms. Specifically, parent reports of their use of guilt induction (by both parents), and maternal use of love withdrawal were all aspects of parental psychological control that mediated the pathway between acculturation gap and depressive symptoms. These results hold true even after accounting for covariates, including socioeconomic status, adolescents and parents' gender. This finding contributes to the literature on mental health by calling attention for both researchers and clinicians to examine both acculturation processes and parenting among Chinese immigrant families. These results suggest that in families with high

dissonance in traditional Asian values between the parent and child can aggravate family relationship, prompting the parents to resort to domineering controlling tactics, such as inducing guilt and withdrawing love to discipline and shape adolescents' compliance. These receiving adolescents who perceive a high level of parental control and manipulation of affect are in turn more likely to report symptoms of depression.

The present study also supported previous research in establishing relationships among acculturation discrepancy, deleterious parenting practices and adolescent depressive symptoms (e.g., Kim et al, 2009; Costigan & Dokis, 2006). Parent-adolescent acculturation level, as indicated by value discrepancy predicted specific components of parent reported parental psychological control. This finding held true across both maternal and paternal use of such strategy. Moreover, all components of parent reported maternal psychological control significantly predicted adolescent depressive symptoms, while two domains of paternal psychological control (i.e., erratic emotional and guilt induction) were found to be associated with adolescent depressive symptoms. Consistent with parents' perceptions, similar findings were evident in adolescent report. Adolescent participants' ratings of mother's use of erratic emotional tactics were predictive of depressive symptoms. Present study results replicated the well established link between parental psychological control and adolescent depressive symptoms in a Chinese American sample, indicating the ethnic commonality of the deleterious effect of psychological control on adolescent mental health outcomes (Barber et al., 2005).

Value Discrepancy, Parental Psychological Control, and Academic Outcomes

Study results did not support the proposed hypothesis that parental psychological control mediates the relationship between parent-adolescent value discrepancy and adolescent achievement outcomes (indexed by both average GPA and grade satisfaction). Moreover, parental psychological control did not predict adolescent achievement outcomes. The lack of mediation hold true across parent and adolescent report. To author's knowledge, this is the first study to examine the relationship of psychological control and achievement outcome among a Chinese immigrant sample in the U.S. Therefore, this is an exploratory study with the proposed mediation based on theory and previous research conducted on Euro-American samples. In previous studies that found links between parental psychological control and child achievement outcomes, participants were primarily Euro-American with outcome variables on average GPAs, and none on grade satisfaction (Barber, & Shagle, 1992; Steinberg, Elmen, & Mounts, 1989; Holmbeck, Shapera, & Hommeyer, 2002)

The lack of relation between parental psychological control and academic outcomes in this study might reflect the historical dilemma of parental influences on academic achievement among racial minority in the U.S. (Dornbush et al., 1987; Steinber et al., 1992). Perhaps as these researchers have previously indicated, academic achievement is too complex to predict based on only a set of predetermined parenting styles or a isolated parenting dimension. This present study focused on psychological control, it may be that there are other components or aspects of parenting that may better account for variances in adolescents' academic outcomes.

Discrepancy in the Findings between Parent and Adolescent Report

It is of interest to note the discrepant perceptions between the parents and those of the adolescents found in this study. A potential explanation may be adolescents' differential reactions toward and acceptance of such parenting strategies. Adolescents differ in temperaments and adaptability to adverse home climates, with some more susceptible to domineering parenting tactics than others. As pointed out by Morris, Steinberg, Sessa, Avenevoli, Silk and Essex (2002), children with temperamental biases toward negative reactivity are more likely to experience poor adjustment in response to parental psychological control than are children exposed to similar tactics. In addition, when parental control is paired with high level of warmth, adolescents' perception of such domineering strategy may also be different (Keijsers, Frijns, Branje, & Meeus, 2009). Since parental warmth was not a parenting measure tapped in this current sample, it may be possible that there are other interplaying parenting dimensions shaping the differing perceptions among the adolescent respondents. Alternatively, households experiencing high conflict are also more prone to report discrepant views among the parent-child dyad, resulting in differential ratings on self-report. Given that this is an immigrant sample, generational differences and value gap may exacerbate family conflicts and result in greater discrepancy between parent and adolescent perceptions.

Limitations

Though the study incorporated perceptions of both parent and adolescent, only one parent per parent-adolescent dyad was involved in completing the questionnaires. Thus, on scale that asked for inferences of the non-participating parents, such is the case with parental psychological control, it is difficult to gauge how accurately scores reflect the non-participating parent. In addition, the lack of participation by both parents did not allow for analysis of parent gender effect on cultural dissonance. The ability to examine cultural value dissonance separately through creating mother-adolescent or father-adolescent pairs may provide additional insights and generate potential clinical implications. In addition, the methodology used in examining value discrepancy (e.g., taking the standardized difference between parent-adolescent report) makes it impossible to distinguish the level of differences and the match or mismatch among the dyads. Subsequently, the study is unable to identify to what degree of discrepancy is influencing the adjustment outcomes. Another limitation of note is the use of target sample in this present study. Although all participants were Chinese immigrants, they were purposively sampled from designated locations (e.g., Chinese community centers, churches or temples). The resulting sample may not be representative of the Chinese immigrant population which may be diverse in itself. As is the case with all studies involving self-report, this present study is subject to self-reporting bias. Lastly, since this study was not set up to be an experimental design, causal conclusions cannot be drawn among the variables examined.

Implications and Future Directions

This study identifies a significant parenting mediator linking parent-adolescent cultural value dissonance and adolescent adjustment outcome (e.g., depressive symptoms). The finding draws a parallel link with the domineering and psychologically controlling parenting tactic found among *tiger parenting* style (Chua, 2011). Both the work by Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen and Murtuza (2013) and this current study corroborated the detrimental influence of parental psychological control and adolescents' mental wellness; this finding remained true even with the presence of positive parenting behaviors such as high parenting warmth and democratic values. Parents from Chinese background especially those experiencing acculturation transitions, are thus highly cautioned to refrain from the use of such parenting strategy, but rather move toward a parenting climate that fosters supportive parent-child relationship.

Findings from this study provide a number of implications for clinical practice. Being that parenting practices are modifiable mediators (Formoso, Gonzales, & Aiken, 2000), intervention designs targeting parental management and fostering of child autonomy are likely to induce effective and positive changes among Chinese immigrant families experiencing acculturative stress. Moreover, coaching for the parent-child alliance and amending for the value differences can also be another potential intervention target. Parents and adolescents are encouraged to attend cultural functions to further reinforce the practice and values acceptance of their heritage culture. This may look like joint observance of traditional/religious holidays, learning of native language, or socialization with other families from the same heritage culture. For future direction,

more parenting practices (e.g., warmth, support, behavioral control), particularly constructs that are dichotomously opposing to psychological control should be examined to assess for the relationship between acculturation gap and adjustment link, and discover further parenting targets for interventions. As it is suggested by cotemporary scholars, an inclusion of both positive and negative dimensions is necessary when examining parenting practices (Nelson, Padilla-Walker, Christensen, Evans, & Carroll, 2011). Besides cultural values, researchers should consider what additional domains of acculturation (e.g., behavioral or attitude), be it from host or heritage culture or both, can be examined to further inform clinical practice and expand the literature on this particular immigrant population.

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